If it concerns the parents of a third person, the term used is usually //(e)ĩb di //gũ/b (respectively -s) or //(e)ĩb di ĩ/b (respectively -s), i.e. his father (respectively his mother). 601

Without breaking the above-mentioned rules, the following expressions that I also heard frequently are correct: sa //gũ/b, sa ĩ/b, thy father and correspondingly thy mother. Further I heard (e)ĩb di dāb(ais), his father (his mother).

The stepmother is °õ!gã/ //gũ/s, i.e. "the mother who stands behind the one who bore the child."

The designation °abo·b for the father I found only in the language of the folktales, never in conversation.

c) I noticed a great variety of addresses used between siblings. At first I thought I was hearing terms of endearment or teasing names. But when I sought to determine their meaning, I came upon rigid norms which indicate the Hottentots' strong sense of age rank even within the sibling circle (!gãb, -s, -n = brother, sister, siblings); it is the exclusive privilege of the older siblings to call the younger ones by name. The younger siblings designate the oldest sister, the person who commands the most respect among the siblings, as °ausis (3. f.), when speaking to her or about her. The next oldest one or ones are called °sirõ·s (3. st.). The younger siblings address the oldest brother as °a·budib. The next oldest one or ones are called °bi·dirob. [561]

d) I have been able to find out the least about the in-law relationships. The relationship of the four in-laws to their married children is the same in address as it is between parents and children; they use the second person singular. The in-laws are called /u/i·b and /u/i·s in the third person.

The wife is called °!oaras in address by her husband's relatives or when she is spoken about in the third person. By all the feminine relatives of her husband, with the exception of her mother-in-law, without consideration for differences in age, she is called ǂaẽ.s.

[562] /u·/iaob means brother-in-law. In the word /u·/igukǂa, that is used to designate two brothers-in-law, the reciprocal particle, -gu, seems to express the equality of rank between the two in relation to each other and the onesided relationship of respect for the parents-in-law.

Some light on the position of the brother-in-law in the family is shed by the phrase with which the Hottentot occasionally appeases a whirlwind: "/u/iaob //goe!" Just as one does not make the children cry in the presence of the brother-in-law by spanking them and does 784 785

not quarrel, but behaves properly, so the wind is warned not to throw the objects around so wildly that it has seized: "The brother-in-law is there!" 784 789

e) Nephews and cousins (direct and by marriage). The relationship of the children to the siblings and brothers-in-law of their parents is regulated in the following way. The children are called by name by them, but the children use others words in address as well as in conversation. 601

1. They call the older brother of the father and the husband of the mother's older sister *gai·dāb, i.e. literally "great (or old) father."

2. They call the younger brother of the father and the husband of the mother's younger sister *dā·daro·b, i.e. "little father" (-ro is a diminutive particle).

3. They call the elder sister of the father *mĩgyi·s.

4. They call the younger sister of the father *mĩ·gyiro·s.

5. They call the older brother of the mother and the husband of the father's older sister *o·meb.

6. They call the younger brother of the mother *o·mero·b; the husband of the father's younger sister o·meda·b.

7. They call the older sister of the mother *ais gais or *gai mās, i.e. as in No. 1, "great mother."

8. They call the younger sister of the mother *ai·ros or *ma·maros, i.e. "little mother."

The male Hottentot calls only the children of his sister nephew and niece, //nu/ri·b, -s. A female Hottentot has no //nu/ri·b or //nu/ri·s. There is no word to designate the children of her siblings. The way the children refer to her has been mentioned above.

Children of siblings address each other in the manner mentioned above for siblings. Only in one case did I see the terms of respect omitted between the children of two brothers.

[303] Between a woman's children and her brothers there is a relationship that (aside from the ties between parents and children) is considered by the Hottentots, the closest that can exist between two related generations. Whether this relationship has a background connected with the rights of inheritance I was not able to establish. I believe not. Whatever it is -- a naive, sympathetic rapprochement between the mother's brother and his nephews sometimes expressed by the uncle's consciousness of his duty to love the children of his sister, sometimes by the children's friendly feelings of dependence on the 604

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

various services. He also has to treat his wife's mother with the greatest deference. They are said to be "shy", *sou*, of each other, and he may never look at her when addressing her. In the presence of his wife's brothers also he has to be restrained; he may not, e.g. be quarrelsome, nor may he beat his children and cause them to cry. To his wife's sisters, however, he behaves, according to Mrs. Hoernlé, "much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed." A woman, again, "considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them." Even now it is customary that after the death of a man his brother takes the widow into his hut, unless she already has grown-up sons and is sufficiently well-to-do to manage her household without assistance.[1]

Remarriage Ceremonies

The survivor of a marriage, whether man or woman, is not permitted to remarry until at least a full year has elasped since the death of the other partner.[2] At the new marriage ceremony, whether a widow marries a young man, a widower a young woman, or even a widow a widower, great ritual precautions are necessary, and an elaborate ceremonial is performed. The details of this custom have been carefully recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé.[3]

Following upon the regular marriage feast, she says, a special remarriage feast is held. For this a special animal is killed, if possible a sheep, otherwise a goat. The bride and bridegroom enter the new hut specially built for them, seat themselves on a skin on the floor, and await proceedings. They are now in the peculiar state known to the Hottentots as */nau*, during which they are not only themselves in an extremely precarious condition, but are also a source of danger to all other people who have not undergone the same ceremony. Great harm might easily come to them, so that the people of their clan (*sic*) see to it that no one dangerous enters the hut; still less would

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 23; Schultze, op. cit., 301 sq.; Kohler, op. cit., 345. The existence of the levirate among the Namas was noted as far back as 1761 by Roos and Marais, who state that if a man dies, leaving behind him a wife and children, it is the duty of his eldest surviving brother to take the woman to wife and to bring up her children as his own; but if she has sufficient means to support herself and her children, the brother has the right to decide whether he takes her or not. ("Rapport aan den . . . Heere Rijk Tulbagh," 77.)

[2] Kohler, op. cit., 340.

[3] "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of Isaos among the Hottentots," *Harvard African Studies*, II (1918), 73–7.

anyone who had not himself undergone the ceremony dare to intrude there.

The special animal slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there by the old woman attending on the couple. She must herself be a widow who has been remarried, and must further be no relative of either bride or bridegroom. No portion of the animal must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the hearth fire, which has also become */nau*, and into this hole are thrown the contents of the stomach and the small intestines. Any blood spilled during the skinning must also drop into the hole, which is then filled up and must not be interfered with. The skin of the animal is given to the old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up, and every scrap of it then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots.

While the meat is cooking, the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife (formerly a sharp piece of quartz would always have been used), and cuts both husband and wife first in front, two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn she then laps blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next she scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it with the blood. Finally she rubs the mixture into all the cuts and bumps the two people together so that their blood mingles. They are then considered duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

After this ceremony, the guests coming in to greet the couple give them beads or bracelets or other similar small gifts. The meat of the animal is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has previously undergone the same ceremony. Pregnant or menstruating women and their husbands may, however, not come into the hut, otherwise the efficacy of the cutting is lost; while if any unqualified person were to eat of the meat he would die.

Until the wounds are healed, the couple remain */nau*, and may not touch either water or the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. When at last the cuts have healed, the man and wife are ceremonially cleansed by the old woman. She smears a mixture of moist cowdung and *nap* (red mineral powder mixed with fat) all over their bodies, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

587 783 784 off in handfuls. A complete change of clothing must also be made, and the old woman alone is at liberty to use the old sets.

Next the couple are reintroduced to the ordinary tasks of daily life from which they have hitherto been cut off. The wife is taken to milk a cow, the old woman supporting her arm as she does so. Then a visit is paid to the waterhole, where the wife is sprinkled with water and her arms and legs rubbed with mud by the old woman, who also fills her water pot for her. The wife is also reintroduced to cooking. Some meat is cooked on the fire in the hut, which has not been used for this purpose since the day of the ceremonial cutting. The old woman supports her arm while she stirs the contents of the pot, then helps her to lift the pot from the fire. The fire is then removed and a new one kindled. Finally the wife goes to gather wood, again with the assistance of the old woman. From now on she is again free to pursue these normal tasks of her daily life.

The husband has to be reintroduced not only to water but also to the cattle kraal. The night before this takes place some branches of the tamarisk and acacia trees are soaked in water. This water he takes the next day, and with it sprinkles the cattle and sheep. After that he also is free to go about his duties as usual.

The Conception of *Inau*

783 784 This ceremony is a typical example of the many "transition rites" found in Hottentot life, and its details can best be understood against the background of the elements common to all these ceremonies.[1] All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.

Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people

[1] The following description is taken almost verbatim from the analysis made by Mrs. Hoernlé in her important paper, "The Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," pp. 67–9. These transitional rites are also referred to, under the name "undermachen" (i.e. "observation") by Kolb, *Vergebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, ii 295, and by Wikar, "Beitrag aus den Hoern von Paternberg," 93–4, but their accounts are far less comprehensive.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

lready possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order 783
hat he may have a normal place in the community once more. Since,
owever, a */nau* person may work untold mischief on anyone dealing 784
ith him, who might also become */nau*, only persons who have
assed through all the stresses and strains of human life, and no
nger fear anything, are qualified to deal with him. None but very
ld men, and women past the age of childbearing, satisfy this condition;
ey alone can be called upon to restore the */nau* person to the com-
unity. But not any old man or old woman will do; it must be
ne having the same characteristic as the */nau* person. Only a
idowed person can safely deal with one */nau* by the recent loss
f husband or wife. Only one who has had a given disease and been
ured of it is fit to officiate for a sufferer from that disease, and
referably someone is selected for this task who, besides the other
ecessary qualifications, has had an extremely bad attack of the
isease—the worse the better.

Seclusion or separation of some kind occurs in all cases, but the
ethod of "initiation" varies according as the crisis is one of two
nds. In childbirth, marriage, puberty, or bereavement rites,
e new status has simply to be recognized, acknowledged, and the
ecessary steps taken to protect both the individual and society by
ceiving the man or woman into the new group to which he or she
ow belongs. This is done by the preparation of a sacramental
eal in which only persons duly qualified are allowed to share. In
e other group of crises—*remarriage, boys' puberty ceremonies*,
ception into the rank of hunters, treatment of diseases regarded as
u, etc.—a stage preliminary to the sacramental meal is necessary.
he */nau* person has first to be identified with the new group by
efting some of the "essence" of that group into him. This is
ne by making incisions in some part of his body, the part varying
th the crisis, and injecting a concoction of which one part is
ariably some of the grease and dirt scraped from the body of the
ficiating person.

Next follows a period, more or less prolonged, of complete 783
clusion. During this time certain other things become */nau* in 784
ation to the */nau* person. First of all there is the fire in the hut 372
which he is secluded. This fire must never be allowed to go out,
r must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification
the hut and the renewal of the fire. During all this time, moreover,
thing must be cooked at the fire, nor must anyone come near it who

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

783 might increase the peril in which the */nau* person finds himself. Thus
784 pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded from the hut.
372 All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The */nau* fire must be respected, not because other persons may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. Raw meat and cold water, again, are sources of great danger to a */nau* person, and must be kept away from him. It does not seem as if the water itself ever becomes */nau*, but every */nau* person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. The clothing and utensils of the */nau* person also become */nau*, but they are a source of danger to others than himself—theirs is the peril if they inadvertently make use of these things before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him.

The period of seclusion is brought to a close by a renunciation of all that represents the old life—the person, as Mrs. Hoernlé expresses it, must be reborn. There is first a special cleansing of his body by the individual officiating. Then a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the hut is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory" meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, *and of it none but the /nau person and persons who can no longer become /nau may partake.* Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks so long laid aside, "and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member."[1]

[586] [1] It will be noticed from this description that the conception of */nau* also applies to the ordinary marriage ceremonies. Unfortunately the data on which Mrs. Hoernlé bases her statement have not yet been published. It is possible, however, to find some confirmation for it in certain of the details recorded by earlier observers, fragmentary though their accounts appear when considered in the light of the analysis given above. Thus Wikar, as we have noted, explicitly mentions the ceremonial meal in which only the bride and woman already married may take part; and, indeed, in his remarks generally about these ceremonies (*ende-maken*, as he terms them), he emphasizes the fact that a meal is held in which only the "patient" and those who have previously undergone the rite may participate. The statement by both Grevenbroeck and Kolb that men and women are apart at the marriage feast also points in the same direction, although this is by no means clear from their descriptions. Grevenbroeck further mentions the ceremonial cleansing of the young couple, and Kolb's description of the urination may possibly also be interpreted in this light. None of the accounts, however, even hints at any period of seclusion, nor at anything which can be regarded as a reintroduction of the young couple to the normal tasks of daily life.

t, and powder themselves with *buchu*. When the husband then enters 846
e hut, he must first smoke a pipe of dagga, and not till the effects [876]
f this have worn off may he speak to his wife and again sleep in
is hut.

Graevenbroeck adds the information that the woman, after the
irth, must remain in her hut for at least eight days. When this period
f seclusion is over, she is ceremonially washed from tip to toe in
arm water, if it is winter, or in cold water if it is summer. Only
en is she allowed to leave the hut. During this washing men may
ot be present. A feast is then held, in which blood relatives and
iends participate. The birth of the first child, according to Kolb, 851
celebrated far more lavishly than are subsequent births, especially
it is a boy, when all the inhabitants of the kraal join in the feast.

The descriptions given above are almost certainly inadequate. 844
it they contain sufficient detail to show that the ritual accompanying 846
rth has at least some of the elements found in the other Hottentot
transition rites". The seclusion of the mother, her avoidance of 783
ld water, and the observances relating to the fire during the period 784
seclusion, the fact that her husband becomes unclean if he enters
e hut, and finally her ceremonial reintroduction to the use of water,
well as the first introduction of the baby to the source of water—
these, as we have seen, are essential details in all ceremonies
sociated with the conception of *!nau*. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general
alysis of these ceremonies we should expect to find also a
ramental meal in which only the new mother and other women who
ve borne children take part; but, although mention is made of a
st to celebrate the birth, in none of the descriptions available of the
th ceremonies is there any record of this special meal. Wikar,
wever, explicitly mentions it in his general account of the occasions
which women alone may take part in the *andersmaken* feasts.[1]
e gives no description of the birth customs; and Mrs. Hoernlé's
n data on the birth ceremonial have unfortunately also not yet
en published.

Abnormal Births

Children born with a caul are credited with prophetic powers. 845
ch a child, according to one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, might 781
come a clever *!gui aob* (magician) if given the caul to eat as a child;

[1] Op. cit., 30.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

The latter? they

gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure, *kharu oms*, inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. This enclosure is a screened-off segment, measuring two to three feet across at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut; and it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. While it is being got ready the mother goes to fetch a woman who, though now past childbearing, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back (whence she is known by the name *aba tarda*), carries her into the *kharu oms*, and cares for her while she is there. Should the period come on in the veld far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, lest all the roots and berries in her path scorch up, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about.

Once in the *kharu oms*, the girl must lie quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin kaross. The wind must on no account blow on her, nor must she be exposed to the sun. She may not leave her little hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening, with one woman behind her and one in front to screen her from view. All the time she is thus secluded she must be careful not to touch cold water on any pretence whatever, nor may she speak above a whisper. It is said that if she talks aloud she will be a chatterbox and muddle in all sorts of affairs later, and will get a bad name among the people. The hearth fire in the outer hut is now also */nau*, and nothing at all may be cooked at it, nor may any pregnant or menstruating or sterile woman come and sit by it, lest dire misfortune befall the girl. No man or boy, again, will come near her, for fear of dread consequences to himself. It is believed that should anyone infringe these or any of the other */nau* restrictions during this time, some sort of sexual disease would beset him; and this could only be prevented from proving fatal if he were able to persuade the *aba tarda* (the old woman officiating) to inoculate him with her "essence" and so free him.

The girl, however, is visited by her older girl friends, who grind sweet-smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, with which she is copiously covered. The time of her seclusion is variously reported as from two or three days to a month. Some girls who had recently been through the rites said they had been secluded for a fortnight; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to think that most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of the girl while in her little hut is that she should get fat, with a smoothly shining skin.

1 [The girl's mother. — Ed.]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish.[1]

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out, and for the last time she must leave it by the special opening made for her at the back. Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths now start the reed dance, forming the inner ring, while the girls, with the *oaxis* in their midst, dance round them in an outer ring. Every now and then there is a change of partners, and gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as partner, till in the end her shyness has all gone. During the dancing she throws *ducku* over the men and boys as she sees them; this is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing often lasts through the night, and when it is over the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, "freeing her, as it were," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "from the spell under which she has hung."

Early on the following morning she is led out of her hut by the *aba tarde*, accompanied by her girl and boy friends. She is conducted round the kraal, and as she goes along picks up earth from the cattle-folds and strews it about, plucks twigs and blossoms from the various trees and bushes she passes by, and also scatters *ducku* as she goes. Every male thing, too, she touches, be it ram, calf, or man, as well as the milking vessels in the huts. The explanation given for this was that such a young girl brings fertility to all she touches, and that the day after she had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land.[2] Next she milks a cow, if possible a young cow calving for the first time, the *aba tarde* supporting her arm as she does so. This milk is /*nun*, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity.

Similarly she is reintroduced to all her other daily tasks by the *aba tarde*. They gather wood together, collect roots and berries together in the veld, and so on. Finally, towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, they go together, accompanied by all the old women of the kraal, to the water-hole. Here the *aba tarde* takes wet mud from the water and rubs it on the girl's legs, then with a branch in her hand splashes water over the girl. Finally both of them take hold of the branch and strike the

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," para. quoted by Hoernlé; cf. Wilms, op. cit., 100.
[2] Cf. also Hoernlé, *Khoisanland*, 17; Alexander, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

water. The *oba xarib* then fills the girl's water-pot and her own, puts the former on the girl's head, and the procession returns home. The girl is now free to use water whenever she likes, except when she is menstruating.

In addition to this rite of reintroduction to water there is, according to Hahn, another rite to be performed before the girl is finally free from the restrictions imposed upon her. She must run about quite naked in the first thunderstorm coming on after her festival, so that the rain pours down and washes her whole body. The belief is that this causes her to be fruitful and have many children. He states that he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.[1]

With these final rites of aggregation the ceremony is at an end. The girl is able once more to take part in the routine life of the community, only now she is regarded as ready for marriage. During her subsequent periods, however, she is again /*nun*, and although there is apparently no feasting or special seclusion, she must observe the same injunctions as when she first menstruates. Thus she may not enter the cattle-fold, let alone milk; it is believed that if she does milk a cow, its milk will turn to blood. Similarly, if she cooks a meal, those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Above all she must avoid cold water, for, as Mrs. Hoernlé points out, there is this great difference between most things a menstruating woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water—cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them /*nun*. Mrs. Hoernlé records an instance of a woman dying suddenly, whose death was unhesitatingly attributed to the fact that she had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. Other women, again, who had been working for white people, said that they were now sickly and never bore any children, because they had been made to work with cold water when they should not have done so.[2]

Nowadays the Nama find it very inconvenient to have their women incapacitated so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and Mrs. Hoernlé goes on to say they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, except that they must

[1] *Tsuni-||Goam*, p. (also quoted by Hoernlé): cf. Schütz, loc. cit.
[2] Hoernlé, 'Value of Water,' [illegible]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be */khai /aa*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai /aa*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *endermachas* in which

[1] Ibid., 195. [2] "The Nama," 156. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., I, 114.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Little Namaqua tribes, says that when a young Hottentot is "made a man" he is first cleansed with water, to do away with his "child" or "goatherd dirt", next rubbed all over with fat, then urinated upon by the old men for three days in succession, after which he is cleansed with the blood of an animal specially killed for the purpose, and finally is again smeared with fat, while at the same time all his cattle are sprinkled with liquid fat. In another context our author states that the boy has also to provide a special meal in which only he and previously-initiated men may take part. This, of course, is the sacramental meal accompanying all these transition rites.[1] Hahn likewise testifies emphatically from his own observations among the Naman that a youth upon being initiated is besprinkled with urine by the magician ("zauberdoctor"); but unfortunately he gives no further details at all about the ceremony.[2]

The fullest account we have of the boys' puberty rites among the Naman is given by Olpp.[3] He states that there is no special time at which they have to be performed. An adolescent youth of any age can be subjected to them, the occasion apparently being determined primarily by the father and by the latter's ability to provide the necessary cattle for slaughter and milking. The boy is then placed under the care of an old man specially selected for this purpose, who naturally has himself long previously undergone the rites.[4] The latter at once proceeds to erect a small mat enclosure inside a bigger hut. Here he stays together with the boy as long as the period of seclusion lasts. The first act on the part of the boy is to clean himself by washing off all the ochre with which he has previously been smeared. Then one of the animals provided for slaughter is killed by the old man, cooked, and the meat shared between him and the boy. Campbell states that the fat of the animal is tied on the head and round the neck of the boy, where it must be worn until it rots and falls away.[5] This, however, is not mentioned by Olpp. The meal over, the old man blows ("bläst") on the upper part of the boy's body, and immediately commences to instruct him in the rules of behaviour proper to a mature man.

These rules Olpp renders in the form of the following precepts:

[1] "Beiträge zum Leben von Pfennborg," 103–4, 94.
[2] "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Hottentotten," 9.
[3] "Aus dem Sagenschatze der Nama (Hottentotten)," 44–5.
[4] From a remark towards by Hahn (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 24) it is the magician (*goi aob* who has "to perform the rite of making a boy a man".
[5] *Travels in S. Africa*, 430.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

"You may not light and smoke your pipe in the camp of strangers or with people whom you do not really know. You may not sit together at a fire and smoke with people, if you know that they have stolen cattle and cooked the meat on that fire. You may not eat the meat of the hare or the jackal, or light your pipe at a fire on which jackal meat has been cooked. Only in case of utmost necessity may you eat zebra or dassie meat. You may also not eat the flesh of those animals which do not chew the cud and have not cloven hooves. You must not catch a goat by the leg and steal its milk. You may not touch a carcase. You must not murder, steal, or lie, fornicate or commit adultery. You must respect age. Otherwise you will become ill." It is probable that in formulating these rules of observance Olpp was to some extent influenced by Old Testament ideas, as in the reference to animals which do not chew the cud, etc. There is no other mention of such a food taboo among the Namas. At the same time there is no doubt that the instruction of the initiate included rules of this nature, and Halm corroborates some at least of those mentioned by Olpp by his statement that boys when they became of age were told not to lie or steal, and not to ill-treat the other sex or commit rape.[1]

These precepts are impressed upon the boy every day over a period of one or two months. During the whole of this time the boy is allowed to drink only cow's milk, of which he must consume great quantities daily; should he taste any other food, all that is past of the ceremony must be repeated. At the end of the seclusion another animal is slaughtered and its meat eaten by the boy and his teacher. All the meat left over from this meal must be burned, together with the bones, horns, and claws. Then the old man makes several horizontal cuts, 4–6 cm. long, on the breast of the boy, and rubs ashes into the wounds, so that a permanent blue scar is produced.[2] This operation over, the boy is taken by his teacher, accompanied by another of the old men as witness, to the river or waterhole. Here the boy kneels down and touches the water with his mouth, and then the old man hits the water with a stick, so that it splashes up in the face of the boy. The object of this rite, according to Olpp, is to frighten and splash away "the evil heart of the boy"; but there

[1] Op. cit., 18.

[2] Campbell (loc. cit.) states, however, that this scarification is made at the beginning of the seclusion, which lasts for eight days. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Nama circumcision rites this would seem to be the more correct view, and the period of seclusion probably lasts only until the wounds have healed. It is obscure certain that Olpp has confounded the order of the rites.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

can be little doubt that it merely represents the ceremonial reintroduction of the boy to water, just as in all the other rites of this nature the person undergoing the rite must be reintroduced to water. Campbell's version of the rite is that the entrails of the animal killed at the beginning of the ceremony are dried and pounded to powder, which is mixed with water and then rubbed all over the boy. The latter is then in the presence of the whole kraal declared to be a man.

With this rite the initiation is brought to an end. The boy is now a *dove-aob*, a man allowed to sit at the fire (*dove*) and eat in the company of the other men of the tapp. As such he is bound to observe various usages with regard to eating. Some of these have already been noted in Olpp's list of precepts, but he adds a few others. If it happens, for example, that while the meat for the *dove* men is on the fire a dog unexpectedly snatches a piece from it, then all the meat becomes impure, and another animal must be slaughtered. Again, a pot in which hare's flesh has previously been cooked must first be cleaned out with fire before it can be used by the men, and in any case it must not be used if an entirely new pot can be procured. Any man violating these prohibitions, and, for example, eating hare's flesh, whether because of necessity and excessive hunger or simply without noticing, may not again eat with the other *dove* men until he has been purified. He may not even light his pipe at a fire at which *dove* meat is being cooked, but must fetch a light from another place, if he has no matches. For the rite of purification a friend must give him a young lamb, which he slaughters himself. The blood of the lamb is then boiled and handed to him by his friend; if he cannot drink it all, the remainder must be buried in the ground. Next he washes himself with the contents of the stomach, and then he and his friend consume the flesh of the lamb. After this meal he may once more eat together with the other men. Anybody sinning for the third time in breaking these taboos, adds Olpp, is cast altogether out of the company of the *dove* men; but no indication is given as to his future lot.

Anderson also mentions the taboo on hare's flesh, adding that it is forbidden even to come into contact with a fire on which a hare has been cooked. If a man breaks the rule, he is not infrequently banished from the kraal, but on the payment of a fine may be readmitted to the community.[1] Another obligation, mentioned by Alberdie, is that grown-up men must refrain from milking a cow,

[1] *Lake Ngami*, 308-9; cf. Wilson, *op. cit.*, 118.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

since this is beneath their dignity, and anyone " who condescends to perform this part of the domestic tasks " would be expelled from the company of the men.[1]

It will be noticed that among both the Cape Hottentots and the Namas the essential feature of the boys' initiation rites seems to be the fact that it gives him the privilege and right of henceforth associating on equal terms with the mature men of the community. This privilege is apparently of some significance, for we find that whoever violates any of the customary norms of conduct is not permitted to mix again freely in the company of the men until he has been purified. This exclusion may perhaps be due to the ritual impurity in which the man finds himself, and which will make it dangerous for him to associate with the others. At the same time it suggests that the elder men form a distinct social group within the community; and Kolb's general statement that men and women among the Cape Hottentots habitually are apart is of some value in this connection, as lending support to the possibility that there was in Hottentot life a well-defined alignment of the community with the men on the one side, and the women and children, including uninitiated boys, on the other. But on this point we have yet nearly enough concrete information.

It is worth noting also that these rites are fundamentally different from the corresponding ones among the Bushmen. In both cases, it is true, we have seclusion, and the form of bodily mutilation is scarification; but even the nature and purpose of the scarification, as Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot rites shows, are markedly different, while the place of seclusion also differs. The Bushman boys, again, are initiated in groups, the rites are intimately connected with hunting, and they also serve to introduce the boys to the tribal religious mysteries. The Hottentot boys, on the other hand, are initiated individually, and the rites do not appear to have any connection with either hunting or religious mysteries. The moral rules and the food restrictions imposed upon the boys cannot be regarded in the same light as the revelation of *Heaxo* to the Bushman boys. The Hottentots, as we shall see, also believe in supernatural beings, somewhat similar in nature even to those of the Bushmen, but there is nothing at all to indicate that these beings are revealed to the boys at initiation.

The Hottentot puberty rites for girls also differ considerably

[1] "Reisebeschreibung ins Innere Hottentotlands," etc.

841 626 conveying to him the type of behaviour expected of him as a man. Later, as an adult, he may attend and even participate in the conduct of judicial trials, and in this way have the methods of procedure, the traditions and the usages of his people brought home closely to him. Throughout his life his activities and sentiments are thus being directed and moulded into conformity with the social norms making for the law and order of the group.

626 784 The non-fulfilment or breach of any recognized norms of behaviour is penalized by sanctions of various kinds, which consequently must also be regarded as means of ensuring observance of the social standards. Some of these sanctions are of a purely ritual nature. Foremost in this category are those underlying the whole conception of /uses. Here we have an elaborate series of observances and avoidances, pertaining to all the critical stages of life, whose infringement is followed automatically by death, sexual disease, diminished fertility or some similar evil result. There are also various usages connected with hunting, which, according as they are observed or violated, bring good or ill-fortune respectively. The rites performed at visiting old tribal localities, and other rites to be noticed later in connection with the ghosts of dead people, must in the same way be observed in order to avoid the sickness and even death which may be caused by these ghosts. In all these cases departure from a prescribed line of conduct leads automatically to evil consequences, without any direct intervention on the part of the community.

626 Sometimes compliance with the social standards of behaviour is secured through unorganized social pressure. Selfishness in regard to food, for example, exposes a man to satire, a form of chastisement to which the Hottentots, in common with many other primitive peoples, are said to be very sensitive[1]; similarly, stealing is regarded as a disgrace, and the thief, apart from other punishments, is cut by everyone and becomes almost an outcast. Other types of norm, again, are sanctioned by the organized reaction of the community acting as a whole or through its subdivision or certain groups or individuals. Thus, as we have seen, a man who violates certain prohibitions is expelled from the company of the *doro* men, and may not again eat together with them until he has been purified. In other cases the blood feud comes into operation, or again the culprit may be tried and punished by the judicial authorities of the community, i.e. by the tribal council. This last type of procedure has been 626 developed among the Hottentots to a far greater extent than among 771

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Hottentots, "because he brought such a bad message, and therefore we dislike to eat his flesh."[1]

Death itself is attributed in many cases to the influence of the evil being *//Gaunab*, "whose greatest aim is to harm people and to destroy them," or to the */hai /nun*, ghosts of the dead, who chase living people or come to them in dreams and try to drag them off to the grave. The */gei aogu* or magicians can also use their power for evil, and thus cause people to sicken and die.[2] The malice of ghosts or evil magicians seems in fact to be by far the most common cause of death in Hottentot eyes. Mrs. Hoernlé even says definitely that "the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by *//Gaunab*, or the */Hai /Nun*, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners."[3] Sometimes, however, death will also follow automatically on the violation of certain ritual observances or avoidances, and in such cases is apparently not linked up in any way with supernatural beings or their human agents. Cold water, for example, must be carefully avoided by a menstruating woman or anybody else in the condition of */nun*. Commenting upon this regulation, Mrs. Hoernlé says: "I have had many instances which were given to me of people who actually have died because they were obliged to touch water when they should not have done so, and their absolute belief in the danger is quite sufficient to cause death in many instances."[4]

It is obvious from these beliefs that the Hottentots are far from considering natural causes alone to be sufficient explanation for death. At the same time one gets the impression from the literature generally that such causes are not entirely disregarded, as for example, in the case of wounds, burns, falls, starvation, etc., which are known to cause death or disablement in a natural way. But no attempt appears to have been made to investigate in any detail how far and in what circumstances purely natural causes in themselves may be admitted as sufficient explanation for death.

Dead people are as a rule disposed of by burial. The only other mode of disposal is exposure, which takes place only in a few special cases. Among the Cape Hottentots, for example, one of twins

[1] Native texts of the myth are published in Meinhof, *Lobdichterei der Hottentotten*, 170–1 and Schultze, *Hottentott und Buschmann*, 448–9; translated versions in Wilms, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde," 118–19; Bleek, *Bushmen and Their Lore in S. Africa*, 69–73; Rheinallt Jones, in Hoernlé, "Die primitive Rechtsordnung der D.S.W.A.," 1915, p. 163.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 63–4; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 233–42 *passim*.

[3] Op. cit., 1919–1; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 81.

[4] "Social Value of Water," 237.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

765 His whole account, indeed, leaves much to be desired. Its main points of interest, perhaps, are the usages preliminary to burial, the purification ceremony afterwards and the funeral feast, and the abandonment of the locality. The description of the funeral itself is very sketchy, and unfortunately no other writer gives further details.

178 The series of rites connected with death and burial among the
769 Nama have been more fully described,[1] but as found at present they
783 have undergone some disintegration. "They have been telescoped,
784 as it were, into one another," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial." These rites fall into the category of those associated with the conception of /nau, and in them the sacramental meal and the cleansing are still of importance. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle of the deceased. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes /nau, but his relatives—brothers, sisters, parents—also have to perform certain special rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. Similarly, if a woman dies her husband becomes /nau, while her own blood relatives perform certain other rites; and when a child has died both parents become /nau and have to undergo the usual rites associated with this condition.

764 As soon as a death has taken place, the body of the person is prepared for burial. Formerly according to a description given by Scheppmann, the hands were crossed over the breast, and the head bent forward between the legs, which were sharply folded at the knee. The body was then fastened together and wrapped in skins.[2] Hahn adds that before the body was wrapped up in this way or sewn up in skins, the son of the dead man first killed a goat and smeared the body of his father with the blood[3]—a practice not mentioned by other writers. Nowadays the eyes of the dead person are closed, then the body is washed by old women, and stretched flat on its back; the arms lie along the sides, and the hands, palm downward, are folded

[1] The principal authorities are: Schultze, *op. cit.*, 316–77; Büttner and Kleinschmidt, "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Hottentots," *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, II (1911), 229–51; Rautanen, "The Conception of Sin," 79–81; *cf.* also Alexander, "Religious Ideas of the Cape Hottentots," 205; Büttner, "Die Namaquas-Hottentotten," 121; Schapera, *Khoisan Tribes and Laws*, 99–100; Vedder, *Bantu and Bushmen*, 208.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 79.

[3] "Totenbestattung und Totenopferkult," in Meinhof, *op. cit.*, 1906, 144.

[4] Loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

753 776 782 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 776 821 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1] But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke /khabi ra /ga*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Namab*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 776 773 796 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personification of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 751 784 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," p. 100. [2] Cp. *ib.*, 64, 130.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. In the former case, we have noted in various instances, things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself. But, though cold water has these protective powers, it is also highly dangerous to any one of the people in the condition of *!nau*, a condition preventing him from participating in the full life of the society. Thus, sick people, mothers with new-born babies, menstruating women, bereaved people, and many others, are in a precarious state and must on no account touch water lest they die. When, after many ceremonies of purification, these people are once more reintroduced to the full life of the tribe, they are specially reintroduced to water, being splashed all over by someone well qualified to lend them strength, and so once more they take up their daily life in the tribe.[1]

All these usages are intelligible and form a harmonious whole if we realise that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for the Hottentots to provide, and that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions. The conception of *Tsui !Goab*, the attributes he possesses, the observances and prayers directed towards him, show that the same outstanding significance is attached to the rain and to the natural forces producing it, which constitute by far the most important source of water. As the giver of the rain, moreover, *Tsui !Goab* is also the source of the pasture necessary for the well-being of the cattle and the game, as well as of the edible roots and berries, and consequently he is intimately linked up with the subsistence of the people, prayers being addressed to him for food.

The figure of *Tsui !Goab* is still endowed in the consciousness of the Nama with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity. The same cannot be said of another famous mythical hero, *Heitsi Eibib*, *Heigum*, *Heitsib* or *Kaiser*. The name is generally interpreted "prophet" or "foreteller", from *heisi*, to tell, to give a message, to order, and *eibe*, beforehand, previously. Heitsi derives it, however,

[1] Cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Hottentot," *passim*; idem, "South-West Africa," 89.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

The early writers
164 speak of sore breasts, ophthalmias, and umbilical hernias as the common
177 diseases, and coughs appear to have been frequent. After the advent of the white man, smallpox, measles and less cleanly diseases swept the country like plagues. An epidemic of smallpox in 1713 totally wiped out many of the Cape Hottentot groups, and greatly weakened the numerical strength and organization of others; a similar outbreak in 1755 again decimated them, and to add to their woes leprosy attacked them; while in 1864 large numbers of Namas died from smallpox. At the present time, syphilis, another infection due to the white man, is widespread among them; tuberculosis, fevers, paralysis, ophthalmias, and chicken-pox are other common diseases, while during the cold season they catch severe colds, and, like all the other inhabitants of South Africa, they suffered heavily in the influenza pandemic of 1918.[1]

753 All maladies, says Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] are divided by the Hottentots
757 into two groups. First there is /aisoa, "sickness," which they regard
[824] as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place; and in such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *tsy*, and in the treatment of these a great variety of herbs and roots is employed. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, although among the herbs found in any particular territory there are always
[759] some which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and recovered. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.[3]

757 The principal diseases described to Mrs. Hoernlé as receiving
● 789 this latter treatment are //aoxas, paralysis, //kais, "fever," *tsorub*,
783 varicose veins, and /aoxis, lupus. Any man falling sick from any one of these or the other diseases called *tsy* becomes /aon, and the treatment adopted to cure him is exactly similar to that described in the remarriage ceremony. The patient is secluded in a hut, and

[1] Lichtenstein, "The Bloody Medicine of the Hottentots," 1930; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, II, 230 ff., 251, 308, 311 ff.; Walton, "Koranderskloof . . . Past History," 1941; Lichtenstein, op. cit., 1930; Schapera, op. cit., 1930; *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 6, 1923, p. 1000.

[2] "Conception of Sore among the Hottentots," 1919.

[3] Cf. Schapera, op. cit., 1930.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

a special animal, a sheep or a goat, is slaughtered. The officiating person makes some cuts in the patient's body over the part affected. With a small horn he cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next he scrapes some dirt from his arm and mixes it with the blood, to which he also adds the ingredients of the vegetable medicines. This mixture he finally rubs into the cuts. Till these have healed the patient must observe the customary /nau restrictions: he must remain in the hut, he must not touch anyone with his hands, nor must he touch cold water or the pots. When at last the cuts are healed, the officiating person cleanses him in the customary manner, he puts on a set of new clothes and gives the old ones to his attendant, the usual purification meal is held, and the fire in the hut closed away and renewed. Finally the reintroduction to the duties of ordinary life takes place in the usual manner, and the patient is free to mix with other people once more.

No other writer on the Hottentots mentions this particular grouping of diseases. It is implied, however, in Laidler's statement that there is a classification into minor and major troubles; but he adds that the former are treated by the herbalists, while in the latter the first step is consultation with the "witch doctor" (i.e. the /gui aob) who is usually himself also a herbalist.[1] He makes no reference to the fact, explicitly noted by both Mrs. Hoernlé and Schultze, that certain diseases can only be treated by people who have themselves had the disease and recovered from it. Many writers, as we have seen, mention the calling in of the /gui aob in case of illness, and it would seem that one of his ordinary duties is to discover the source of the sickness. His method of doing so is nowhere clearly described, although Laidler vaguely mentions divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal. Where the patient is held to have been bewitched, the /gui aob also undertakes to cure him. His treatment in such cases, in addition to the "extracting" of the foreign bodies thought to be causing the illness, is apparently similar to that employed in the diseases known as //ga, since, as we have seen, the dirt scraped from his body is an essential ingredient in any medicine he gives. It is obvious, from what has just been noted, that he does not undertake the treatment of every kind of disease.

All this implies that more than one class of persons may be called in to treat the sick and injured, the healer differing according to

[1] Op. cit., 433 ff.

[681] [641] [643] stop," as Katrina says, and no pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the old turtle takes her share, which must always be part of the outer flesh, inside. While the girl and her friends sit in the khaxi //aes, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can, the fire which is always made in the centre line of the hut, just a little way inside the door, is lean and nothing must be cooked at this fire at all. Everyone must forsake for the [709] girl. Thus no pregnant or menstruating woman must come and sit by the fire, nor must a sterile woman, lest dire things befall the girl in the khaxi //aes. All this time too, she will be careful not to touch cold water on any pretense whatever. No man or boy would come near her for fear of dread consequences to himself.

[681] [635] As the time of the girl's seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the village begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

[681] First, during the day, the girl is placed in front of the lean fire, and is cleaned[1] with moist cow dung (*a*hoap) and lumps from head to foot by the old woman who carried her into the hut, to clean off all the dye /urip.[2] The old turtle smears the *a*hoap all over the body of the girl, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls, *a*hoap and /urip, for the Hottentots allow plenty of it to gather. She then collects it carefully and hides it in an ant heap or animal's hole where no one is looking. The girl is then given a complete new set of clothing and the old woman carries off the old ones. Meantime a cow has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the old turtle. This she must now cook on the fire in the house, the first cooking done there since the girl entered the khaxi //aes. When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the old turtle and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it. Then the old turtle takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the house. She then sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth and lays a new fire. This fire must not be lit from another fire, as is usually done when a fire goes out. It must be lit with flint. Most Hottentots use timber lucifers nowadays, matches being a rare luxury. No doubt originally the fire was lighted with the firesticks which were certainly in use among them.[3] The fire thus lit is now no longer lean. *N'amaki dama ke oros*[4], *orike tari ungi ni oroyo* ("now the

[1] //*ae ai*khoa, "the cleaning before going out".

[2] Literally "dye dirt".

[3] Cf. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, p. 57.

[4] *o-da*, "fine" or "right", e.g., *oros oros* "the right path".

587 After the ceremony, the guests coming to greet the couple, give them beads or bracelets, or other similar small gifts. These presents are called *do nis*."

[764] The meat of the lgio which *nis* is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has undergone a similar ceremony, except that pregnant women, menstruating women, and their husbands, may not come to the house where any cutting has been done, otherwise its efficacy is lost. If any unqualified person were to eat of this meat he would die. The newly married couple may eat only of the flesh, not of the pluck.

Until the wounds are healed, and the two persons can be //ku, they remain here, and may touch neither water, nor the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. She herself must not eat the flesh of the //nas ("pelvis") and when the bones are quite clean and bare, she ties them together and hangs them up in the rafters of the hut above the fire, where they may get the smoke. According to some informants, they are left there as long as the hut stands; according to others, they are removed later when the fire is renewed, and thrust into the hole of some animal.

When the cuts have healed, the man and wife are changed by the old woman in a manner similar to that in which the young girl was changed.[2] A complete change of clothing must be made, and the old woman alone is at liberty to use the old sets. Finally the animal's tail is taken, threaded on a //aeib ("sinew") which has been saved from the animal, together with the knuckle bone (!ubeyis) of a hind leg. The whole is tied round the woman's waist. It either remains there until it falls off of itself, or it is taken off after it has become black, and buried with the pubic bones in an animal's hole.

Next the couple must be reintroduced to the ordinary tasks of life. The woman is helped to milk just as the young girl was.[2] She is taken to the water in a similar way, and she must be reintroduced to cooking. Some meat is cooked on the fire, which has not been used for cooking since the day of the ceremony. The old woman supports the bride's arm while she stirs the contents of the pot, and finally helps her to lift the pot from the fire. She then removes the fire and lights a fresh one just as was done for the fiancée. When the bride first goes to gather wood, the old woman goes in front of her, striking the ground as she goes with a thorny branch, "to prevent the bride from being pricked with thorns." The first pieces of wood gathered must be given to the old woman. Then at last all is well.

The man has to be reintroduced to the cattle herd as well as to cold water. The night before this ceremony some branches of the doti "camelthi," and the //gnuti[1] tree are cooked in water. This water is taken next morning and with it the cattle and

[1] Lit. "throw in the fire".

[2] Called the Hoerni Among by the Dorob.

[2] [See vol. II-B, p. 72.—Analyst]

[2] [See vol. II-B, p. 79.—Analyst]

764 which is placed in front of the dead man's house. In the old days they wailed and
[17] writhed in lamentation. Nowadays they sing hymns. In Berseba where a man died late in the afternoon, hymns were sung right through the night and all the morning until the burial by the missionary took place. Meantime the man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood separately into one or more pots. The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others; all the different families
[278] who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and the herb called //gûnib is mixed in with it. A chopper, //ip, which has been heated red hot is
[442] then stirred round in it to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the man "— men, women, and children — collect round the pots and cover their heads with their skins
[303] so that they perspire (soqe). Then an old man, who is related neither to the man nor to the women, takes potûbeb and makes a line on the stomach of each person — "to prevent their getting pains from eating the liver", says Amanie. The sweating is done in the dead person's hut, and so is the putting on of the black line and the eating. The relatives eat only of the flesh, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. In Berseba I was told that the line on the stomach was made with the blood, not with the potûbeb. Some informants say the sweating is done in the hut, others say outside. Unfortunately in the case which I witnessed myself the people were too badly off to have meat at all, and there was simply
[513] coffee drinking. The widow takes no part in these rites at all. "She doesn't belong to the man's family", one informant said indignantly when I asked.

768 How long the widow remained here, I do not know. One informant says, "Even to this day, after the death of a husband, or child, a woman won't use cold water for a few days". But the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. Formerly, according to Cornîlel and others, it was done sometime after the burial when the hut had been rebuilt in another spot. Other remarks show that even now some time may elapse between the burial and the cleansing, for another informant tells me that if a widow were obliged for some reason to go from the shore to Walfish Bay to an inland settlement, she would
● [779] on no account take the path through the valuable leaves plants, but would go by the desert path where no vegetation of any sort is to be found.

During the interval, whether it be long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is cleansed from head to foot with a lump
[578] of, on the Orange River, with a lotion made from a species of euphorbia, or, in Walfish

* None of the woman's relatives take part in this ceremony.

843 they frequently manage her. During the last months before
the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother.
The elder relatives of the mother function as midwives and
are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however,
846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and
diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The
851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days
581 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum-
843 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the
642 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and
European names are very general lately. The midwife who
assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two
goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced
by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a
871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from
their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight
many a fight with the parents, who do not realize that, in
order to make progress, the child has to attend classes
regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to
employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much
more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for
it than that he should attend school. But a change has
taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to under-
stand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance
to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation
sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the
occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the
rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated
and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine
members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in
families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is
given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from
a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during
the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the
girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that
•[794] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk
from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest
she imperil the herd.

[794a] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison
which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with
[795] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the
harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual
diseases amongst men.

573 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names.
576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by
their names unless they prefer to call the little ones-lings
" Little Father " or " Little Mother." But children are not
allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives